

Message Text

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ACTION A-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 H-03 SS-07 NSC-06 /026 W
----- 002384

P R 041116Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8161
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 12883
FOR DEPARTMENT ATTENTION "A"

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP(BROOKE, EDWARD W.)
SUBJECT: VISIT OF SENATOR BROOKE TO ATHENS

REF: STATE 285074 ATHENS 12878

1. SENATOR EDWARD W. BROOKE AND SENATE APPROPRIATIONS
COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER W. DAVID ROSSITER VISITED ATHENS
NOVEMBER 27-DECEMBER 1. THE AMBASSADOR AND KEY MEMBERS OF THE
COUNTRY TEAM BRIEFED THE VISITORS BEFORE THEY BEGAN THEIR
WORK PROGRAM. DURING THEIR STAY, MESSRS. BROOKE AND ROSSITER
MET WITH IMPORTANT GOG OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER
CARAMANLIS, FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS, MINISTER TO THE
PRESIDENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT (AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION)
RALLIS AND MINISTER OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE TRYPANIS. THE
LAST HOSTED AN OFFICIAL LUNCH IN THE SENATOR'S HONOR. PRESIDENT
TSATSOS HAD THE FLU AND WAS UNABLE TO RECEIVE HIM. ON THE
LEGISLATIVE SIDE, THEY SAW CONSTANTINE PAPACONSTANTINOOU,
PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK PARLIAMENT, AND THE LEADER OF
THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION PARTY, GEORGE MAVROS OF THE
UNION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER PARTY.

2. THE SENATOR DELIVERED AN ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE NEW AID-FINANCED LIBRARY AT THE DERE-PIERCE
COLLEGE, MET THE MEDIA ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, INCLUDING
A SESSION WITH THE FOREIGN PRESS ASSOCIATION,
AND ATTENDED A SMALL RECEPTION SPONSORED BY THE GREEK-
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AMERICAN SOCIETY. HIS MESSAGE IN PUBLIC AND

PRIVATE WAS ESSENTIALLY TO STRESS TO THE GREEKS THE MUTUAL NEED OF THE WESTERN NATIONS TO REMAIN UNITED. HE REAFFIRMED THE STRONG, PRO-GREEK ORIENTATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HAD WARM WORDS OF PRAISE FOR PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, AND PLEDGED BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR A JUST SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE SENATOR WAS EXTENSIVE AND OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORABLE, EXCEPT FOR SOME SNIPING BY THE COMMUNIST PRESS.

3. THE SENATOR'S FIRST MEETING WAS WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK PARLIAMENT, CONSTANTINE PAPACONSTANTINOU, WHO REVIEWED THE CURRENT GREEK POLITICAL SCENE AND SPOKE OF HIS OWN HIGH ESTEEM FOR THE U.S., WHILE OUTLINING THE CAUSE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN GREECE (ALLEGED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE 1967-74 JUNTA AND FAILURE TO STOP THE CYPRUS INVASION BY TURKEY). PAPACONSTANTINOU, WHEN ASKED BY THE SENATOR HOW HE THOUGHT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED, ARGUED THAT A FINAL SOLUTION SHOULD ENCOMPASS A BROADENING OF THE "GUARANTEEING POWERS" BY INCLUDING THE U.S. AS A GUARANTOR. FROM GEORGE RALLIS, A CLOSE ASSOCIATE AND KEY POLITICAL ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE SENATOR HEARD A MORE DETAILED EXPOSITION ON THE DOMESTIC PRESSURES FACED BY THE GOG IN DEALING WITH THE CYPRUS AND AEGEAN PROBLEMS. RALLIS REASONED THAT CARAMANLIS HAD TWICE AVOIDED GOING TO THE BRINK WITH TURKEY (DURING THE SECOND CYPRUS INVASION IN 1974 AND DURING THE "SISMIK" CRISIS LAST SUMMER), BUT WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO FACE A THIRD CHALLENGE WITH EQUAL SUCCESS. RALLIS URGED THAT THE U.S. ADOPT A TRULY NEUTRAL STANCE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND TURKEY, AND ABOVE ALL, THAT THE U.S. NOT TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT UNDERMINE THE DOMESTIC POSITION OF CARAMANLIS.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS BROKE NO NEW GROUND IN REHEARSING THE FAMILIAR GOG POSITIONS ON FOREIGN RELATIONS PROBLEMS. HE REFUSED TO TAKE A POSITION AS TO WHETHER THE U.S. CONGRESS SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT APPROVE THE TURKISH DCA, BUT STRESSED THAT IF THE

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AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY WERE PASSED, CERTAINLY THE GREEK ONE WOULD HAVE TO BE AS WELL IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE DELICATE BALANCE IN THE AEGEAN. ALTERNATIVELY, HE CONTINUED, NEITHER SHOULD BE PASSED. ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, BITSIOS SAID HE WAS MILDLY ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT "PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT" AT BERN ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS. BOTH SIDES HAD CONCURRED TO DEFUSE THE TENSE ATMOSPHERE, HE NOTED. HOWEVER,

BITSIOS ADDED, IN ALL HIS PAST DEALING WITH THE TURKS, THEY HAD PERSISTED IN REFUSING TO ENTER A GENUINE NEGOTIATING PROCESS IN THAT THEY FAILED REPEATEDLY EITHER TO RESPOND TO GREEK OVERTURES OR TO DEFINE WHAT TURKEY SOUGHT IN CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN. HE SAID HE WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSESS RELATIONS BETTER AT HIS COMING MEETING WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS DURING THE NATO MINISTERIAL IN DECEMBER. ON CYPRUS, BITSIONS COMMENTED THAT MAKARIOS HAD ALREADY MADE ALMOST EVERY CONCESSION POSSIBLE, BUT THE ARCHBISHOP COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT 18 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION (TURKISH CYPRIOTS) SHOULD CONTROL 40 PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY OF CYPRUS. TERRITORY WAS THE OUTSTANDING ISSUE IN REACHING A SETTLEMENT, BITSIOS CONCLUDED.

5. DURING HIS MEETING WITH THE SENATOR, OPPOSITION LEADER MAVROS UNDERLINED THE NEED FOR THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN ITS POSITION OF STRENGTH AND LEADERSHIP IN THE WESTERN WORLD AND TO AVOID REPEATING PAST MISTAKES IN DEALING WITH ITS CLOSE ALLIES, I.E., GREECE. MAVROS VOICED INTENSE OPPOSITION TO U.S. DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH EITHER TURKEY OR GREECE, SAYING THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE FOOLISH TO ARM BOTH SIDES WITH THE CERTAIN EVENTUALITY THAT THERE WOULD BE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO. HE SAW NO POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS ON THE AEGEAN AND CYPRUS ISSUES, AT LEAST NOT UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY SCHEDULED TO BE HELD NEXT YEAR.

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ACTION A-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 H-03 SS-07 NSC-06 /026 W
----- 002514

P R 041116Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8162
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY NICSIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 12883

FOR DEPARTMENT ATTENTION "A"

6. IN SENATOR BROOKE'S MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, THE PRIME MINISTER RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS FROM THE SENATOR BY RESTATING HIS AND THE GOG'S WELL KNOWN AND ALREADY HEAVILY REPORTED VIEWS ON GREEK-U.S. RELATIONS, GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, PROBLEMS IN THE AEGEAN, AND CYPRUS SITUATION AND SIMILARLY IMPORTANT, KEY TOPICS. ON ONE TOPIC -- THE TURKISH AND GREEK DCA'S-- CARAMANLIS ALSO RESTATED HIS POSITION WHICH HE HAS ARTICULATED PREVIOUSLY BOTH PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY, AND BEFORE THE GREEK PARLIAMENT; HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS SUBJECT NOW AND THE TIMING OF THE SENATOR'S MEETING WITH CARAMANLIS, WE ARE INCLUDING A CAPSULE SUMMARY OF WHAT CARAMANLIS SAID. IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S INQUIRY AS TO HOW HE FELT ABOUT THE GREEK AND TURKISH DCA'S AND WHETHER OR NOT THE U.S. CONGRESS SHOULD ACT FAVORABLY ON THEM, CARAMANLIS REPLIED THAT THIS WAS A COMPLETELY INTERNAL MATTER WITHIN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THAT IT WOULD BE IMPROPER FOR HIM OR THE GOG TO EXPRESS A VIEW OR INTERFERE IN THE U.S. LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN ANY WAY. CARAMANLIS INDICATED THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT SOME IN THE U.S. HAD ATTRIBUTED TO HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT AN OFFICIAL POSITION OR PREFERENCE ON THIS MATTER, AND HE MADE CLEAR THAT HIS POSITION WAS AS HE HAD EXPRESSED IT TO THE GREEK PARLIAMENT LAST SPRING AND SINCE, AND AS HE HAD JUST STATED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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TO THE SENATOR.

7. HOWEVER, CARAMANLIS WENT ON, HE WOULD NOT CONCEAL FROM SENATOR BROOKE HIS OWN DISAGREEMENT WITH U.S. POLICY AND ACTIONS TOWARD TURKEY -- AS HE HAD HAD THE OPPORTUNITY FROM TIME TO TIME TO EXPRESS TO OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS. HE FELT THAT TURKEY HAD "BLACK-MAILED" THE U.S. GOVERNMENT LAST WINTER, SHUTTING DOWN AMERICAN BASES AND FACILITIES AND TAKING THE POSITION THAT THEY COULD NOT BE REOPENED UNTIL THE NEW TURKISH DCA HAD BEEN NEGOTIATED AND APPROVED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE SUBSEQUENTLY NEGOTIATED SUM OF ONE BILLION DOLLARS IN AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY HAD BEEN ASSURED. CARAMANLIS SAID HE THOUGHT THE USG SHOULD NEVER HAVE BOWED TO THIS "BLACKMAIL". IN HIS EXPERIENCE CARAMANLIS SAID, IT WAS ALMOST INVARIABLY A MISTAKE TO YIELD ON SUCH A POINT, AND HE THOUGHT THIS WAS ESPECIALLY A MISTAKE WHEN DONE BY A SUPER POWER AND THE LEADER OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. IN HIS VIEW, THIS

ONLY REINFORCED TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE ON THE CYPRUS QUESTION, ITS RELATIONS WITH GREECE, AND RELATED MATTERS. CARAMANLIS SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT SOME THOUGHT TURKEY MIGHT WITHDRAW FROM NATO AND OTHER TIES WITH THE WEST AND ADOPT A CLOSER AND FRIENDLIER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IF THE "BLACKMAIL" HAD BEEN RESISTED BY WASHINGTON. CARAMANLIS INDICATED HE THOUGHT THIS WAS NONSENSE AND THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, TURKEY WOULD HAVE COME "CRAWLING" BACK INTO THE WESTERN FOLD. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE ALSO DISAGREED WITH THE CONCEPT OF "PAYING" AN ALLY FOR THE USE AND AVAILABILITY OF MILITARY BASES AND FACILITIES IN THE LATTER'S COUNTRY, ADDITING THAT SUCH FACILITIES WERE EITHER IN THE INTEREST OF JOINT DEFENSE OR THEY WERE NOT, AND THAT NO "PAYMENT" (ON OTHER OCCASIONS CARAMANLIS HAS REFERRED TO THE PAYMENT AS "RENT") SHOULD BE MADE. IN CONCLUDING, CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA AGREEMENT OF G LAST MARCH NECESSITATED HIM SEEKING A COMPARABLE ARRANGEMENT FOR GREECE AND HE INDICATED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE U.S.-GREECE DCA WOULD PROBABLY BE COMPLETED IN THE NON-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE. THUS, IF THE TURKISH DCA WERE APPROVED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS
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HE WOULD WANT THE GREEK DCA ALSO APPROVED; HOWEVER, CARAMANLIS MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE TURKISH DCA WERE FOR ANY REASON NOT APPROVED BY THE CONGRESS HE WOULD NOT PRESS THE USG FOR THE GREEK DCA AS IT HAD BEEN SKETCHED OUT IN THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES APPROVED BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AND SECRETARY KISSINGER LAST APRIL. IN OTHER WORDS, THE NET IMPRESSION HE LEFT WAS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE SATISFIED TO SEE BOTH OR NEITHER OF THE DCA'S APPROVED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS.

8. SENATOR BROOKE AND MR. ROSSITER HAVE SEEN AND CLEARED THIS TELEGRAM. KUBISCH

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